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### EDITOR

The Rev. Canon W. Fenton Morley

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## EDITORIAL

**T**HE focus of attention moves over the world-wide Church with a rapidity which is often bewildering. Kenya—Korea—Sudan—Egypt . . . one country after another is under the searchlight of international interest because of political, racial or economic tensions. Sometimes the Church “behind the headlines” at the time, is seen to be affected by the march of events and may receive a welcome support in prayer and in re-inforcements of manpower and money.

Then another area is in the news—but the Church must go on with or without the interest aroused by political or other developments. So it is the responsibility of journals like *THE EAST AND WEST REVIEW* to maintain the awareness of what is happening in the life of the Church outside the regions in the news as well as to interpret the situation of topical interest.

In this issue, we begin with an article by Professor Latourette, author of probably the most comprehensive history of the expansion of Christianity ever written, which sets the scene in India for the next article by the Bishop of Bombay. It is important that people in this country should understand just what is proposed as a Plan of Union for the Churches in North India and Pakistan, and, as the Bishop of Bombay suggests in his conclusion, ponder what this means for the Anglican Communion as a whole in respect of dioceses which enter a merger of the kind proposed.

Iran (but we persist in calling it Persia!) is a country again in the news but for rather different reasons from those which obtained only a short while ago. The West Asia Secretary of the C.M.S. presents a helpful re-assessment of the work of the Church in Iran in its present context.

All too little is known and understood in this country about the problems facing the Anglican Church where it is very much a minority movement, in countries outside the Commonwealth administered by other European Governments. The article by Canon Hudson describes such a position in Madagascar under the challenge of Roman Catholic expansion and asks some searching questions of the Church at home.

We have been asked to remind you that again this year International Summer Courses for the Clergy will be held at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. The subjects and speakers will be as follows: July 8th to 20th, *THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH*—the Bishop of Stepney, Canon C. K. Sansbury, and Canon M. A. C. Warren. July 22nd to August 3rd, *THE BIBLE*—Professor C. F. Moule, Canon A. O. Standen and the Rev. R. F. Hettlinger. August 5th to 17th, *THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH*—the Bishop of Croydon, Dr. A. D. Kelley and the Rev. G. F. S. Gray. Enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary at the College.



# PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA

By K. S. LATOURETTE\*

WHEN Gandhi was felled by an assassin's bullet thousands of Indians said that he died a Christ-like death. The assassin was a member of the Mahasabha, a group which stands for strict Hinduism. The motive was anger at Gandhi's departure from a conservative Hinduism in his efforts to obtain tolerance for non-Hindu minorities, the Muslims and the "outcaste", "untouchable" or "scheduled" classes, the Harijan, as he called them. Gandhi was profoundly influenced by Jesus, by the Sermon on the Mount, and by the crucifixion. Among his favourite hymns were ones of Christian origin and expressing Christian faith. In India such traditionally Hindu terms as *ahimsa* and *karma* are still current, but their connotation has been so modified that they now have something approaching a Christian significance. Nehru, although frankly a secularist and regarding the religious divisions of India as an obstacle to the national unity on which he is intent, declares that his ethics are from Christian sources.

Whence is this permeation of Indian life by Christianity? It is an outgrowth of an event which occurred in 1706, two and a half centuries ago.

Christianity has been in India much longer than two hundred and fifty years. Tradition declares that it was preached in the first century by the Apostle Thomas. The Syrian Christians who number several hundred thousand, if not going back to St. Thomas, certainly have a continuous Indian ancestry of over a thousand years. The Roman Catholic Church was introduced in the thirteenth century and has been there without interruption since the close of the fifteenth century. Beginning in the seventeenth century, Protestantism was represented by British, Dutch and Danish merchants.

Yet it was in 1706 that the first Protestant missionaries arrived who devoted themselves to the Indians. It was an augury of a future Indian Protestantism which transcends national lines that they were Germans from the University of Halle and were sent under the auspices of the King of Denmark. They landed at a Danish trading-post in Tranquebar, in South India. Also as a foreshadowing of the later combining of the efforts of Protestants of many denominations in the efforts to aid in the planting and growth of Christianity in India, within a very few years financial assistance came to the pioneers, who were Lutherans, from the recently organized Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, an Anglican enterprise. For a number of years that Lutheran-Anglican co-operation continued.

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As time passed Protestant missionaries multiplied. They came from more and more nations and from more and more denominations. A rapid enumeration will give some hint at what a longer account would make more vivid. As was to be expected, the largest number of missionaries was from the British Isles—from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The next largest contingents were from the United States. In addition, missionaries came from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Nearly every branch of Protestantism, and the varieties within those branches have been present. Even more than in Europe and America, Protestantism has seemed to be a Joseph's coat of many colours. There have been several Anglican societies representing different kinds of churchmanship. A dozen Presbyterian and Reformed Churches have sent missionaries. Methodists have come from at least four countries. English and American Congregationalists have been active. Baptists from England, Canada and the United States have shared. Several Lutheran bodies, differing in national origin and tradition, have been prominent. Scores of smaller bodies have responded to the inner urge to witness to their faith in the vast sub-continent.

Yet, true to the tradition established in the first generation of Protestant missions, in no other country have collaboration between societies and denominations and the union of diverse churches proceeded as far as in Indian Protestantism. Here is emerging, even though as yet imperfectly, a new united Protestantism. Unity has been partly by co-operation. Co-operation has taken a variety of forms. Earlier, before Indian Christians were as numerous or had assumed as much initiative as of late years, there were nation-wide conferences of missionaries of many societies and groups. In the present century the National Christian Council has been the most effective of the similar bodies which have arisen in Asia and Africa. In it Indians have the leadership. There are also regional (provincial) Christian councils which are closely affiliated with the National Christian Council. In this co-operative structure are included fully ninety-five per cent. of the non-Roman, non-Syrian Christians of India. Co-operation is also marked in education. It is seen in several institutions of higher grade. British visitors who have been in Madras may have made their way by tram to a suburb, Tambaram. If so, they will have seen the substantial and impressively simple buildings of the Madras Christian College. Begun by the Free Church of Scotland, in it eventually joined Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Reformed. Even more denominations have shared in the support of the Women's Christian college in Madras. These are but examples of what is duplicated in centre after centre. Especially significant are union institutions for training men and women for the full time service of the churches, whether as clergy, deaconesses, or corresponding vocations. Outstanding are ones in Bangalore and Serampore, in which several denominations participate. Those coming from these colleges have become accustomed to living, playing, working and worshipping with students of other churches and to think of the Christian Church as one.

Has the growing unity of Indian Protestantism been only through co-operation between denominations? Co-operation has gone far. But



in the Joseph's coat do the colours remain distinct, or are they merging? Does every denomination preserve its full independence? In India actual unions are taking place. The outstanding example is the Church of South India. In this union, consummated a little less than ten years ago, bodies as diverse as Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists have come together in one church. That church preserves some of the traditions of each of its parents, but it is one church. Moreover, the Church of South India and Lutherans have entered into conversations which may issue in a still more inclusive union.

It is chiefly from Protestants that the influence of Christianity has spread outside the membership of the churches. That is seen in a variety of ways. Let us look at some of them. It was almost entirely through Protestants that in his youth in England and South Africa, Gandhi came in touch with Christianity. Later among his close friends were Protestant missionaries, notably that highly original and devoted Anglican, C. F. Andrews. Nehru's contacts with Christianity through his formative student years were also mainly through Protestants. The name of Rabindranath Tagore has long been a household word. To thousands in India and elsewhere he has stood for the highest ideals in literature, philosophy, education and the world of the spirit. He was a son of the second leader of the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj is a religious movement, once more prominent than now, which bore much of the impress of Christianity. It arose from contacts with some of the early Protestant missionaries.

Unnumbered thousands who have been students in Christian schools, some Protestant and some Roman Catholic, while never having been baptized and still known as Hindus, Muslims, or Sikhs, have had their ideals and character shaped by Christianity. Sometimes they are called "invisible Christians". Whether they deserve the name Christian may be debatable, but to a greater or less extent, they have been moulded by Christ. They and the printed page have been at least some of the channels through which have been transmitted the Christian ideas which have modified the connotation of *ahimsa* and *karma*. To no small degree the printed page has been that of the Bible. From the beginning, Protestant missionaries stressed the importance of giving the Bible to the Indians in their own tongues. To it the early German Lutheran missionaries devoted much effort. It was the chief tangible accomplishment of the sensitive, highly gifted Cambridge Senior Wrangler, Henry Martyn, who had only four years in India. On it centred the famous Serampore Trio, Carey, Marshman and Ward. From their pens and their press during a long generation issued the Scriptures in whole or in part in forty-four languages and dialects. Indeed, Carey became the pioneer of prose literature in Bengali.

In at least two other ways, Protestantism has contributed to the modification of Indian life outside the membership of its churches. It has helped change the status of women. By its provision of schools for women and through stressing their dignity and opposing child marriage,

it has been one of the influences making for the bettering of the lot of women and girls. It has also been among the forces which are improving the conditions of the sixty million or more of the depressed classes. The large majority of Protestants have come from this element in society and from the culturally similar hill tribes. Through schools and other agencies the spiritual and moral level of many of these converts has been raised. Here is one source, although probably not the main source, of the movement which has legally abolished untouchability and which is slowly eliminating it in practice.

To what extent and in what fashion have these two and a half centuries of missionary effort planted Protestant Christianity in India? Has Protestantism been so purely Western that if missionaries were to withdraw it would disappear? Granted the ways in which, in spite of all its variety, it has been drawing together, has this not been through missionary initiative? Is not the very effect which Protestantism is having on Indian thought and life a precursor to the absorption of Christianity, or at least of Protestant Christianity, into Hinduism? In the course of the centuries, the ever adaptable Hinduism all but eliminated Buddhism by assimilating so much from it that Buddhism as a separate religion nearly disappeared in the land of its birth. Will that not be the fate of Protestantism? The Syrian Church has maintained itself as an inflexible distinct community, almost a separate caste. By its structure and its tie with the Pope, the Roman Catholic Church is highly resistant. But, by its nature and its history, Protestantism is more responsive to the culture in which it finds itself. Will it not gradually become almost indistinguishable from the Hinduism around it? As Hinduism is modified by Christianity, chiefly through Protestantism, will not the latter more and more accommodate itself to Hinduism and in the course of the centuries become a Hindu sect or a group of Hindu sects? Under the pressures of nationalism, missionaries are less prominent than formerly and have less and less control over the Protestant Churches. The fact that the large majority of Protestants are from the "depressed" classes and from the animistic hill tribes makes more difficult the emergence of competent leadership and this may weaken resistance.

We are here dealing with prophecy and not with history. Prophecy is notoriously fallible. However, for the past two and a half centuries and during the present century, Protestant churches have been growing proportionately more rapidly than the Syrian church or the Roman Catholic church. Protestantism is developing able leaders who are staunchly loyal to the Christian Gospel and who have had and are having an increasing share in spreading it. As evidence one need only mention the National Missionary Society of India. It is Protestant but not denominational and was begun and is staffed by Indians. As another of many examples which might be cited, there was also the first Anglican Indian bishop, Azariah, who, in his diocese in Dornakal stimulated his flock to active evangelism which led thousands to break with Hinduism and to come openly to the Church through baptism. We must remember



too that through the Ecumenical Movement—through the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, and the World Student Christian Federation—Indian Protestants are more and more knit intimately into the world-wide Christian fellowship. As conscious members of the “blessed company of all faithful people” they are less and less likely to succumb to Hinduism. The prospect is that, still aided by emissaries from the Churches of the Occident and strengthened by continuing and growing contact with other non-Roman Christians, Indian Protestants will preserve their Christian witness and will both add to their numbers and to the permeation of Indian life by Christian ideals. Clearly, as a matter of historic and present fact, there is emerging in India from the Protestant missionary effort which began in 1706 a growing body of Christians with great variety but increasingly drawn into one fellowship, a source of modification in Indian life, and of mounting importance in the universal Church of Christ.

. . . . .

What effect have all these missionary efforts and these developments in Protestantism in India had on the peoples and churches from which the missionaries have come? Is Protestantism in Europe and America any different because of them? Have the peoples and the cultures of the Occident been affected? If so, how? Has the missionary movement been a one-way or a two-way street? Here a large book might be written. We can now merely call attention to two facts. Did time permit they could be greatly multiplied and elaborated. One fact is the stimulus which movements for unity among Protestants in India has given to similar movements in Europe and America. The Madras missionary conference of 1902 provided an important precedent for the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. Through that gathering it contributed to the formation of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. The coming into being of the Church of South India has also encouraged those who work for unions in the Occident which will bring together churches as diverse as those which entered into that union—Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist. A second fact is a better understanding in the Occident of the peoples and cultures of India. By their letters, articles and books while in India and by their addresses while in Europe and America, missionaries and Indian Christians have made contributions of incalculable importance to a knowledge of India. In the main these contributions have been accurate. By and large they have also been sympathetic. They have made clear the weaknesses of India. But they have stressed the valuable and worthy features of India. Because of them, the Occident is becoming more sympathetic in its ever closer relations with that great nation.

(This was previously broadcast by Professor Latourette in the B.B.C. Third Programme.)



# PLANS OF UNION IN INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON

By THE BISHOP OF BOMBAY

**T**O us who shared in the strains and stresses which preceded the inauguration of the Church of South India, talk of Church Union is a little like the talk of fire to a child who has once been burnt. We cannot forget how near the decision was in some of our Diocesan Councils to a vote of rejection rather than of acceptance. We cannot forget that in the vote of approval in the General Council of 1945 the whole issue depended upon the decision of a single member of the House of Bishops, and that the decision would not have been taken were it not for the majorities in favour in the Dioceses directly affected.

Such feelings have been somewhat assuaged by the manner in which the Church of South India has gradually won its way to the acceptance and even approval of elements in the Churches of the Anglican Communion which were apprehensive and critical at the time of the Inauguration. The fire continues to burn whether the child dreads it or not. Schemes and Plans for Church Union were already under consideration for the rest of India, including what is now Pakistan and Ceylon when the Church of South India was inaugurated. These considerations have become actual negotiations. We are aware that they will involve parts of the Church which were hesitant over South India. Even with such reassurances as the experience of the Church of South India may give us, we realize these further schemes and plans must command a more general and generous approval if such a momentous step as union is to be seriously contemplated.

For instance we are anxious to ensure that the Ministry of a Church of Lanka (Ceylon) or of North India and Pakistan shall be such as to make it possible for Churches of the Anglican Communion to enter into relations of full intercommunion as soon as possible after the inauguration. This has led us to press for a unification of the Ministry from the start. Such a unification has, of course, other advantages to a United Church. The chief is that all ministers will be acceptable to all congregations from the beginning, and there will be no need of such a Pledge as had to be included in the South India Scheme which is a reminder that even within the Church there is some differentiation between the episcopally ordained and others. This general acceptability should make easier and more rapid interior cohesion. Yet there are strong arguments for a gradual growing together, such as the South India method provides. We have also to face the fact that initial unification of the ministry has not the same strength of appeal for the other negotiators as it has for ourselves, and they are naturally sensitive to any element in such a process which might throw any doubt on the reality of their previous ordination.

*Ceylon*

In Ceylon, though there has been much keen debate in the Negotiating Committee, there have been factors in favour of a smoother evolution of a Scheme. Geographically an island, the Church leaders of the several denominations know each other, and are obliged by circumstances to work together, in a manner which does not obtain in the great straggling distances of North India and Pakistan. The future Anglican element in a United Church is also much larger. The Churches who are negotiating have been more easily able to accept the principle of an episcopate which can claim continuity with the early Church. The Anglicans have it, so do the former congregationalists who are now in the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India. Methodists, of the British variety, are happy without it, but have never rejected episcopacy, so long as it behaves as they consider it should. The Presbyterians negotiating are a tiny break-away from the main Dutch Reformed Group which itself is not large. The Baptists are not enamoured of it, but their interest is more in the Membership than the Ministry of the Church, and if they finally do not enter union, it is more likely to be on account of the former than the latter.

In Ceylon the logical consequences of the episcopal character of the future Church of Lanka are reflected in the proposed method of unification of the Ministry. In such a Unification the inheritances of all the traditions are to be assured. In Ceylon the Bishops having been chosen, and consecrated where necessary, the traditions will be imparted to them by representatives of each Church. The Bishops, as Bishops of the united Church, then proceed to the unification of the ministry in their several Dioceses. This is a plain, straightforward procedure, comprehensible to us, provided the Service and the Formula at the Laying on of hands are satisfactory for the purpose, which the Derby Committee consider it to be. Ministers coming from outside will be "unified" before undertaking work in the Church.

There remains a problem, which besets all Union Schemes which include Churches which do not have an episcopal ministry. That is the provision for visiting ministers from such Churches being allowed to celebrate Holy Communion under certain conditions. This is part of the larger problem of an Episcopal Church having relations of inter-communion with another Episcopal Church which has relations with Churches which have not got the episcopate. Anglicans already have experience of this, for example, with the Church of Sweden, but the time has come for an authoritative pronouncement in the matter, perhaps by the Lambeth Conference. The Bishop of Exeter's distinction between non-episcopally ordained ministers, acting under the direction of a Bishop, and those not so doing, may have a bearing on the question of "visiting ministers".

The Third Edition of the Scheme of Church Union in Ceylon was published in 1955, and the Negotiating Committee considers its work is finished, unless some special reference is made to it. This therefore is the form in which it will probably come before the Lambeth Conference for comment and advice. It obviously owes much to South India, though it does not follow it slavishly. In one important particular it



departs. South India's Scheme had a "Basis of Union", which is unalterable and has become an historical document, and a Constitution which is amendable. Ceylon's has a "Preamble", but no unalterable Basis of Union. North India and Pakistan look likely to change from South India to Ceylon in this regard.

### *North India and Pakistan*

The Negotiations in North India and Pakistan are not so far advanced. At the Negotiating Committee meeting in August, 1955, a number of Sub-Committees were set up to go more deeply into various aspects of the Scheme. It was then intended that these should report to a meeting of the Negotiating Committee in October, 1956, which should then prepare a definitive edition of the Plan of Union to be presented to the Churches. The Sub-Committees found more complexities than were foreseen, and it was decided to sort out the results of their work at a Continuation Committee in October, 1956, and the hope now is that the full Negotiating Committee will meet in April, 1957, to prepare the definitive edition. In some ways this delay is disappointing, as it will mean less time for careful consideration before the Lambeth Conference. On the other hand the delay will be of advantage if it means that further thought will produce a Plan more coherent and better articulated than it has been hitherto, which looks probable.

Geography has added to the problems of these negotiations. They involve two countries, not on the best of terms unfortunately, and long distances which make impossible that intimacy among Church leaders which has so helped in South India and Ceylon. The negotiators also are drawn from a more complex variety of traditions. This adds to our difficulties and at the same time makes a possible triumph of greater concern to the Church elsewhere. Following the example of William Carey, and his associates of Serampore, the Baptists have maintained a high tradition of scholarship in eastern India. The Presbyterians of Scotland, with Duff of Calcutta and Wilson of Bombay among their pioneers, have a long and noble tradition in fields of learning, medicine and other branches of Christian activity. American Congregationalism has made notable contributions. The Methodists of America have a long and prolific record in evangelism. British and Australian Methodism has made its mark. *Ecclesia Anglicana* has a rich and varied history. She will, however, contribute only about a fifth of the membership of a Church composed of all these bodies, whose labours go to make up the Church in North India and Pakistan.

The rearrangement of the material of the Plan of Union, which has been carried out by the Continuation Committee, at its meeting in Allahabad in October, 1956, has done a great deal to remove redundancies and to give the Plan a shape and a coherence which were previously somewhat lacking. It has also brought some decided improvements as a result. The effort to provide for Baptism in the Plan, with alternative methods for Infant Baptism and Believers' Baptism, had certainly left its mark on the part of the Plan dealing with the Sacraments. These will not now be so apparent in the Plan itself, though an Appendix will bear witness to the searchings of heart the effort has caused.

The procedure at the Inauguration must still be regarded as far from satisfactory, especially when compared with that of Ceylon, but it seems to be about the best we can obtain, and it has, of course, still to win acceptance in all its details by the Negotiating Committee in April. There are five steps in the Inauguration:

- Step 1 The Inauguration of the Union.
- Step 2 The Bringing together of the two Episcopates.
- Step 3 The Representative Act of the Unification of the Ministry.
- Step 4 Declaration and Confirmation of appointment of existing Bishops, and the Consecration of new Bishops.
- Step 5 Diocesan Services of Unification.

The first Step needs little explanation. It includes the solemn presentation by the uniting Churches of their decisions to unite on the Plan, and the solemn proclamation of the Union which makes them all members of one Church of North India and Pakistan. (It may prove necessary to inaugurate separately in each of the countries; perhaps to bring into being two Churches in full communion with one another.)

The third Step brings into a unified ministry the Bishops, and representative Presbyters, including Bishops Elect, by Prayer and laying on of hands by members of each former Church on the delegates of each of the other former Churches. In this the ministry making ministers of each shall take part, as episcopal functions are performed by Presbyters acting in concert in Churches which do not have Bishops.

The fourth Step provides a solemn acknowledgment that existing Bishops, who have been elected to Dioceses in the Church, are Bishops of the Church, and the Consecration of new Bishops who have also been so elected.

The fifth Step provides for the Unification of the Ministry in the Dioceses by the Bishop and representative Presbyters who have taken part in Step Three.

What about Step Two? This is made necessary by the fact that there are two Churches negotiating which have Bishops, but only one which claims the historic episcopate. Somewhere they need to be brought together so that all the existing Bishops have the historic link with the episcopate of the past. After much consideration it seems best to do this in Step Two. Some have asked whether this is not really provided for in Step Three, where the representative of the two Churches will lay hands on each other. The answer is that in Step Three, we leave what God gives of grace, commission and authority to God alone. As we have specific provision in the Plan for an historic, as well as a constitutional, episcopate, it seems necessary to have a Step in which we directly seek for its provision. Others ask if Step Three does not provide the Episcopate of the Church. That Episcopate is not provided until all the ministerial traditions are imparted to it in the process of Step Three, which is the Representative Act of the Unification of the Ministry at both the Episcopal and Presbyteral levels.

Much time has been spent on this; too much some would say. The Inauguration is of itself the vital thing in which the gift of union is



received from God. The unification of the ministry is a subsidiary corollary to it.

It is hoped that the material for the Third Edition of the Plan of Union in North India and Pakistan will be available in galley proof form for the meeting of the Negotiating Committee in the first week of April, 1956, so that the edition can be published as soon after the Committee has done its work upon it as possible. The last edition was apparently sold out very soon after publication, and had to be reprinted, so even now it will not be too early to book an order for the next. It will be difficult for it to have all the consideration we should like before it is discussed at Lambeth. It will only come to our own General and Diocesan Councils after Lambeth has advised upon it.

### *The Anglican Problem*

Meanwhile these two possibilities of Church Union in our Province, within a comparatively short period, pose a problem which is really quite separate from the intrinsic merits of the Plan and the Scheme. Our Province was disestablished and given autonomy by the Indian Church Act of 1927, but that very Act also provided the legal foundation for our present existence. This appears to depend upon certain recognitions by a recognizable Bishop of Calcutta. The Scheme of Union in South India did not touch the Bishop of Calcutta and did not therefore raise this problem. The Plan will involve him and all that depends upon him. The Indian Church Trustees, with its Royal Charter, also would seem to be involved. It looks as though Union would be virtually impossible without the assistance of the Legislatures of the countries concerned.

There is also a prospect which should surely be of vital concern to the whole Anglican Communion. If the Plan and the Scheme are put into effect, there will be a virtual disappearance from the Map of the World of the whole area, except Burma, of one of the older Provinces of the Anglican Communion. This is intensified rather than relieved by the possibility of pockets of Anglican recusant remnants. Is the Anglican Communion to vanish piecemeal in this fashion as the tide of Church Union advances? Has the Anglican Communion any policy and prospect on the subject of Church Union as a whole? Is the possibility of a fellowship of such united Churches to be a dream of the future, or are there any practical steps which can be taken now to ensure that there shall be a probability or even a certainty?

Duly appointed Negotiators have a limited task. Their task is to thrash out the best Plan or Scheme it seems possible to achieve in friendly struggle with their fellow negotiators from other Churches. It is a friendly struggle, in which the bond grows stronger and deeper as we come to closer and closer grips, and the moments of despair are relieved with the reiterated intention of the Negotiators of all the Churches involved to complete their common task. The work of the Negotiators is virtually finished in Ceylon. A few more months should see a like end in India and Pakistan. It will then remain for the Churches themselves to consider not only the actual fruit of their labours, but also their manifold implications.

# THE CHURCH IN IRAN

By C. S. MILFORD\*

## *A Frontier Land*

**I**RAN occupies a special frontier situation in the world to-day. It has for thousands of years been the Western outpost of Asia, subject from time to time to strong cultural influences from the West, but for the most part forming a barrier to their further penetration eastward. After his conquest of the Persian Empire, Alexander the Great tried deliberately to found a mixed Graeco-Persian civilization, traces of which survived for many centuries. But under the Parthian kings, a dynasty which arose on the eastern borders of the country, Persia resisted the efforts of the Roman adventurers, Crassus and Antony, to extend their empire to the East; and this resistance was successfully maintained by the Sassanian kings against the later Roman Empire. A strikingly similar pattern is found in the Muslim period. The Zoroastrian religion was, it is true, almost entirely displaced by Islam. But whereas the regions farther west were completely conquered by the Arab invaders, and have been Arabic speaking ever since, Persia retained its original Indo-European language, though compromising by adopting the Arabic script. Persia was never subject to the Caliphs of Baghdad; and this independence was again maintained for the most part by rulers, like those coming from the Eastern Marches. Moreover, Persian Islam has always adhered to the Shiah sect, and has never acknowledged the authority of the orthodox centres of Islam, Mecca, Jerusalem, Damascus and Cairo.

This same pattern still persists to-day. Persia has many links with the West. Reza Shah, a vigorous soldier who rose from obscurity by his own courage and determination and in 1925 displaced the previous dynasty, initiated a programme of thorough-going Westernization along the lines of the Turkish revolution under Kemal Ataturk. As a result of this, in many respects, especially in more superficial matters such as dress, Iran seems to the visitor much more Western than countries farther East. I met in Kerman, a provincial town far to the East along the road to Afghanistan, a Persian lady who had taken a course in dressmaking in Paris. Everyone uses knives and spoons. This is a striking contrast to India, where women especially retain their universal devotion to the national dress, and where the highest in the land still eat with their hands when in their own homes. At the same time, there is still surprisingly little English spoken in Iran, even in the cities. And the cultural links with China are still quite obvious in Persian art. Another intriguing fact which strikes the traveller is that while coffee is the universal drink in the rest of the Middle East, in Iran it is invariably tea. Iran is, in fact,

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the end of the ancient trade-route from China through Central Asia, marked by an unbroken chain of *chai-khanas*.

Iran then has always been on the frontier between East and West. It is now even more obviously on the frontier between North and South. It shares with Germany, Yugoslavia, Hong Kong and Korea the embarrassing distinction of being one of the natural meeting places of the Communist and non-Communist worlds. Persians have vivid memories of the simultaneous occupation of their country by Russian, British and American forces in 1941, and of the German intrigues which would have brought it under Axis control had not the Allies stepped in when they did. And they are well aware that they themselves could not prevent a second such occupation—their only safeguard is the fact that neither great bloc could afford to let the other seize this key strategic position.

It is not to be wondered at that this history has produced a spirit of isolationism easily passing into xenophobia, which colours all Iran's relations with foreign countries, including contacts with the Western Churches through missionary work. Persians are still proudly conscious of the fact that Cyrus and Darius established what may rightly be called the first world empire. The magnificent remains of the palaces of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are carefully preserved, with their wonderful carvings in relief showing groups from twenty-three subject peoples bringing their tribute, each group led by a Persian or a Mede. They can also claim a freedom from foreign conquest or domination lasting for well over two thousand years.

This tendency is reinforced by the nature of the country. It is as large as France, Germany and Spain put together, but the population is only about twenty million. Most of these live in the very fertile northern strip, facing the Caspian sea, or in the extreme West. The vast emptiness of the upland plateau which forms most of the rest of the country is difficult to appreciate until one has seen it. There are great salt deserts in the East compared with which the Gobi Desert itself has been called a fertile garden. Elsewhere one may travel for two or three hundred miles from one town to the next, passing on the way only half a dozen villages or even less. In the remoter parts life has gone on almost unchanged for more than 2,000 years. Distances are still measured by Xenophon's *parasangs*—the distance which a camel caravan can travel in a day: and the almost universal form of water supply is still the *qanat*, the wonderfully ingenious system of underground aqueducts which are still made by exactly the same methods as those used in prehistoric times. A well is sunk at the foot of the mountain where there is a spring. A line of other wells is then made, about fifty yards apart, and the bottoms of the wells are then joined by a continuous tunnel, carefully graded so that there is a gentle flow of water. Some such *qanats* are as much as twenty-five miles long, and carry the precious water far out into what would otherwise be desert, with little loss by evaporation.

Iran then stands in time on the frontier of the ancient and modern worlds, as it does in space between East and West, North and South. There is rapid westernization in the cities, and above all in the great oil town of Abadan; but in remoter parts life has changed very little. It must be mentioned here however that American Technical Co-operation

teams are now busy in the countryside; and the sinking of tube wells on a large scale may by itself revolutionize agriculture.

### *The Ancient Churches.*

The Gospel came to Persia from Syria in the third century. There was persecution almost from the first. I saw in Southern Iran an ancient portrait in relief on a rock of the Chief of the Magi in this period, pointing to an inscription recording how he cleansed the land of Christians and other heretics. But the Church grew and three hundred years later sent missionaries as far as China. Under Islamic rule the Christians were tolerated, but as in so many Muslim lands they accepted the position of an enclosed foreign minority and while clinging most loyally to their own faith, ceased to spread the Gospel. To-day "Eastern" Christians in Iran are mostly Armenians and Assyrians. The Armenians number about 100,000, many of whose ancestors came as artisans at the invitation of Shah Abbas the Great, to build his beautiful capital Isfahan, about the time of King James I. Many of the Assyrians came after World War I to escape Turkish persecution, of which the Armenians have also had bitter experience. I met in Shiraz an Assyrian engineer who as a boy had taken part in a great trek from Eastern Turkey to the Persian Gulf; 100,000 set out and only 50,000 arrived, and he saw both his own parents die on the road. There are now 30,000 Assyrians in Iran. Both groups have a very strong sense that their religion is their *national* faith, which accentuates their "minority outlook"; they are not in communion with each other, since the Armenians are Monophysites and the Assyrians are not. The Armenians of Cilicia, with their headquarters at Antelias near Beirut, are active and progressive, but those of Iran come under the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, which is within the U.S.S.R. This has made great difficulties, especially in obtaining younger clergy, and the Church is somewhat stagnant. But there are some hopeful signs which will be mentioned below. There is a Uniate Section of the Armenian Church, owing allegiance to Rome, which is strong in Tehran.

### *Western Missions.*

The American Presbyterian Mission is at work in Northern Iran. They started their first school in 1831 and have now congregations numbering some 3,000, largely drawn from the Ancient Churches. The C.M.S. started work in Southern Iran almost by accident. In 1869, Dr. Bruce, a missionary from the Punjab, was returning to India through Persia, and was allowed to stay there to revise the Persian translation of the Bible first made by Henry Martyn. He settled in Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Isfahan. A few years later there was a serious famine and he started relief work and persuaded the C.M.S. to start a medical mission. This also was in Julfa, since the missionaries were not allowed to live in the Muslim city of Isfahan. A school was started for the Armenians, and as in so many other places the first result of this was that a few hundred of them left the Apostolic Church (this is the title which they themselves prefer, rather than Orthodox or Gregorian) and formed the nucleus of an Anglican community.

Among the Muslims at first it seemed that no headway at all could be



made. There were critics, then as now, who thought that the very attempt was a waste of time and energy, which might better be used elsewhere. In 1888 a certain Canon Isaac Taylor wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* two highly critical articles about the C.M.S. in which he said: "In Persia, we are told, a great and wondrous door is opened for the Gospel. But no conversions are mentioned. . . . It is plain that those futile missions should be given up. A few Eastern Christians may be perverted, but the missionaries make no headway among the Mahomedans. . . . Last year, when I called attention to this waste of resources . . . Dr. Bruce, who is the chief offender, answered me by a cry for larger sums to be expended on his resultless enterprise."

As we shall see, this patience is at last being rewarded by some visible fruit. But it should also be remembered that the missionaries at first were not tolerated at all except on the understanding that they were serving the existing Christian minorities; and the Church life of the Armenians was then at a very low ebb. Bruce himself in a report to the Boards of Missions of Canterbury and York in 1894 describes how successive bishops appointed to Julfa were driven out by their people: and that "during the twenty-two years I have been in Persia, not one of the villages has been visited by a bishop".

Eventually a hospital was started in Isfahan itself, in 1900, by Dr. D. W. Carr, one of the great figures of the Iran Mission, who remained there till 1930. The medical service did much to overcome suspicion and prejudice: and the work was extended to Shiraz, Yezd and Kerman, a hospital being built in each place. Schools were established, the most important being the Stuart Memorial College in Isfahan. The diocese of Persia was formed in 1912. The Anglican Christians were still mostly Armenian in origin, though some were Persian Jews among whom the C.M.J. also works; and some Zoroastrians, who are found specially in Yezd.

### *The Pahlevi Regime.*

As mentioned above, revolutionary changes began during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlevi, who became King in 1925. He set out to make Iran a modern secular state. As outward symbols of this, western dress was made compulsory, including European hats. This was intended to minimise communal divisions, since their different head-gear was the most prominent distinguishing mark of Muslims, Jews, Parsis and Christians, and at the same time it made it impossible for Muslims to pray in public in the orthodox manner, since the head must be covered and the forehead must touch the ground. He also ordered women to discard the veil, and proudly announced that he had doubled the population of his country in one day.

This new regime had two contrary effects on the work of the Church. As part of his programme of secularization the Shah set himself to limit the power of the *mullahs*. This had previously been immense, and some of them actually maintained private prisons into which they could put any Muslim whom they suspected of leanings towards another faith. All power was now centralized in the hands of the Shah. In practice this made it possible for the first time for Muslims to be baptized without

inevitably incurring severe persecution. Alongside of the Armenian congregations, a little community of converts from Islam began to grow.

On the other hand, in 1940 the Government took over most of the foreign schools, including two schools for boys and three for girls maintained by the C.M.S. This was an anti-foreign rather than an anti-Christian move, and reasonable compensation was paid. But the Church has felt the loss of this means both of giving a Christian education to Christian children, and of making friendly and fruitful contacts with non-Christians. Two missionaries who were headmistresses were invited to stay in charge of their schools under the government, and did so for ten years, during which they were able to exercise a remarkable influence both professionally and personally; in spite of the fact that they had to conform to government regulations which included working on Sunday and arranging Islamic instruction for Muslim pupils. But during the period of tension which followed the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1950, both of them were deprived of their positions.

### *The Oil Dispute.*

The quarrel between Iran and Britain over the Oil Company was a time of severe trial for the infant Anglican Church. It still numbered only a few hundreds, and there were (and still are) only three Persian clergy, two of them occupied in specialist work, with the Bible Society and the C.M.J., in the capital, Tehran, far from the area of Anglican missionary work. As the tension developed, the British banks, the work of the British Council, and finally the Embassy were closed. Missionaries who went on furlough were refused permission to return, and two of the clergy, including the Bishop, the Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson, who had given nearly forty years of devoted service to Iran, were actually expelled. At the same time, all Persian Anglicans came under suspicion because of their connection with the British Mission. The crisis was reached in August, 1953, when the last missionary priest was ordered to leave the country and the hospital at Isfahan was to close at the expiry of six months notice which had been given in the previous February. The fall of Dr. Moussadeq and the return of the Shah from his brief exile took place on the very day when the notice expired, and after being officially regarded as closed for a few days the hospital was allowed to continue.

### *The Present Situation.*

Iran has now adhered to the Baghdad Pact and is more definitely aligned with the West than ever before. It seems almost inevitable in a country like Iran which has never been under British rule, that it is very widely assumed that all British missionaries are disguised agents of the British Government. They are therefore at present regarded with considerably less suspicion than before. (Further mention will be made below of the rather double-edged consequences of this for the Church.) Visas are at present being given fairly freely for lay missionaries, but the position regarding the clergy is still obscure. There is a regulation that all "leaders of religion" must be nationals, and this can be interpreted to mean all clergy. Apparently on this ground an Indian priest who



volunteered to serve in Iran was recently refused a visa. The Bishop and one ordained missionary have, however, been able to return.

*Missionary Work To-day: 1. Medical Work.*

The work of the C.M.S. was considerably reduced in extent because of the period of tension described above, and by the effects of inflation in reducing the total number of missionaries who can be supported. The hospital at Yezd was closed after being badly damaged by a flood in 1941, and that at Kerman in 1952 through shortage of staff. Those at Isfahan and Shiraz continue. There is growing competition as the number of state hospitals and private practitioners grows; but at present with some surgeons of great ability on the staff, they hold their own and are still regarded as a vital means of witness and of intimate contacts with the people. The Shiraz hospital has recently been encouraged to start a nurses' training school which for the first time has Government recognition. Unfortunately, just when this great opportunity has been presented, there is an acute shortage of missionary nurses. State regulations make rural extension work almost impossible for the present, but one of the surgeons at Shiraz has been asked to take students of the local medical college to villages for practical training in surgical work.

Hitherto no fully qualified Iranian Christian doctors have been available for work in the Christian hospitals, but one who has just completed his training at Shiraz has recently been appointed on the staff there.

*2. Education.*

Foreign Societies have not been allowed to reopen schools, but there is a flourishing Anglican hostel for girls in Isfahan, and a similar one for boys is to be opened in 1957. Nations may still carry on private schools, and a small primary school has recently been started by the Church in Isfahan, managed by a Christian national, and it is hoped that similar schools may be opened elsewhere, to provide a Christian education for Christian children.

Also in Isfahan is a diocesan School for the Blind. This institution was started by an independent German Lutheran missionary. The Diocese took charge of it with the help of "Orphaned Missions" funds when he was interned in 1940, and a C.M.S. woman missionary is now in charge, with the care of the girls and young children. The Germans have since returned and reopened their work for men and boys. Hardly anything is being done for the Blind in Iran, and this venture has been able to enlist the support and interest of many Persians and also foreigners working in the oil fields and elsewhere. One blind Christian girl has been trained as a teacher and is now working for a degree in America.

*3. Literary Work.*

There is an inter-church Literature Committee, and bookshops in Teheran and Isfahan. Recently a senior C.M.S. missionary, Miss A. Aidin, one of the teachers mentioned above, has started Bible Correspondence Courses, in Persian. Two courses have been published so far, and about eighty students are registered and sending in answers to questions. This is most useful for making contacts with people living

in the many places where there is no Church worker or congregation. It is also a ready means whereby Christians however young themselves in the faith, can interest others: and it has already been so used in a remarkable way even by enquirers who have not yet reached the point of Baptism themselves. This leads us to consider one of the most hopeful features of the Anglican Church, tiny though it is.

#### 4. *A Witnessing Church.*

In other parts of the Middle East, the "Heart Lands" of Islam, all the Christians tend to exhibit the minority outlook which has characterized the Ancient Churches in these lands for many centuries. They cling to their tolerated status, and hesitate to undertake any active evangelism which might endanger this and provoke opposition. Moreover they are deeply suspicious of Muslims, and can hardly believe that any can sincerely desire to follow Christ. In Iran on the other hand, as already mentioned, there is a small but steady stream of converts from Islam. No one can say why this is so—it may be partly because the Shiah sect, though at times very fanatical, has perhaps a less rigid hold on its adherents than the orthodox Sunni faith. Certainly the Gospel has been preached no less faithfully in Egypt and elsewhere. But whatever the cause, there is to-day in Iran an atmosphere of expectant evangelism not found elsewhere. Each newcomer is enthusiastically welcomed by the little Church, and many of the new converts are eager to share with others what they have found. Moreover the leadership in this movement is increasingly indigenous. Two young men, themselves converts, are now being trained for ordination at the United Theological College at Bangalore, South India.

Another hopeful sign is the beginning of a new relation with the Armenian Apostolic Church in Julfa, Isfahan. A woman member of this Church has for thirty years been working as an evangelist in the Anglican hospital in Isfahan; at the same time she has remained a loyal member of her own Church, and leads a flourishing youth group in it. These young people join in the activities of the Anglican Youth Group, which largely consists of converts from Islam. Thus the old suspicions that the Anglicans wish actively to win proselytes are being dissolved, and at the same time members of the Ancient Church are seeing for themselves that Muslims can indeed become sincere and vital Christians, and are beginning to witness themselves in a new way. Co-operation is growing in other ways which there is no space to mention in this article.

#### 5. *Present Problems.*

It must, however, be repeated that in spite of these hopeful signs the Anglican Church is still extremely fragile. One of its problems is that in such a small community it is very difficult to find the right partners in marriage; converts all too easily are persuaded to marry non-Christians, and are then under great pressure to revert to the old community. Moreover, many Anglicans from the southern part of the plateau where the C.M.S. has worked, find their way for employment to Tehran in the North or to Abadan and the oil-fields in the South; and thus tend to drift away altogether or join the Presbyterian Church. The Church is also



very isolated. It is still dangerously dependent on its link with the West through the missionaries. There is no doubt that many Persians are first attracted by admiration for the British character and way of life as they have seen it exhibited by the missionaries; and this connection still gives some protection and prestige to the infant Church. At the same time it might very easily at any moment become a serious liability. The Diocese of Iran belongs to no province, and is still directly under Canterbury. A link with the Province of India has been suggested, but there are geographical and political problems in this also.

It may also be added that in spite of its remarkable influence with individual Muslims, largely those who are disillusioned about their own faith, the Church has so far gone very little way towards any deep or fruitful "colloquy" with Islam as such or with serious and believing Muslims.

Finally, two new ventures. The old Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., true to its paternalistic traditions, provided chaplains for its British staff. The new Consortium is following a different and probably wiser course, and is leaving it to the foreign community itself to make the arrangements, though providing it with certain facilities. The foreign staff in Abadan and the oil-fields, chiefly American, British and Dutch, have appointed two chaplains both of whom are missionaries with long experience in Iran. The Anglican chaplain is a C.M.S. missionary who speaks Persian fluently, and this gives the Church a new and welcome opportunity to shepherd its Persian members also who are employed there. The Church has also just purchased a property in Tehran for development as an Anglican Church centre there. The plan is to send a priest who will (1) help with the existing work of the Church Mission to Jews and (2) serve as assistant chaplain to the rapidly growing English speaking community, many of whom are Anglicans but who have at present only a Congregational chaplain, and (3) shepherd the small but increasing group of Persian Anglicans. There should later be ample work for two such men in Tehran.

Eventually of course it is to be hoped that Church Union will simplify this and similar tasks. At present there is happy co-operation in many spheres between the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, but on the latter side so far very little understanding of our desire for corporate union. In this matter the Christians of Iran greatly need our prayers.

# MADAGASCAR—THE ANGLICAN MISSION

By T. B. HUDSON\*

THE Anglican diocese of Madagascar is a fish out of water, believed by some, especially Roman Catholics, to be a freak without a future. It is the prayer of her members and of many well-disposed Protestants and Roman Catholics, too, that she may be, not perhaps a new species, but the occasion and instrument of a great new work of God's grace. They know, as we know, that the Catholic faith and order shown forth by the reformed Anglican Church has riches of grace not only for the healing of nations but also for the reconciliation of Christians. They pray, as we do, that by faithfulness, charity and humility those riches may abound and not be lost through pusillanimity or pride. Yet from a mundane point of view there is every reason for fear.

I shall have occasion later to show that I regret it, but I must give a few of the historical events which account for some of our present circumstances. Tentative work based on Mauritius was begun in 1864 on the East coast of Madagascar, but the diocese was not established until 1874. That involved making a headquarters in the Queen's capital of Tananarive, in Imerina territory hitherto recognized as a protestant field, to the disgust of some of the older missionaries and to the complication of the work of the Mission which had hitherto been in one district and among one type of people. A certain number of churches were established in and around the capital and a training college just outside the city, so that while the bulk of the work still lay on the east coast it was hoped that the more vigorous and progressive Imerina Christians would be a strong support to it.

The final French occupation of 1895 divides the history of the Mission, for it radically altered its status, giving it the appearance of an unwelcome survival from a former age, a minor sect doomed to isolation and frustration. The courage, even pugnacity, of the missionaries of that period, was matched by the rapid progress of the native clergy and teachers, and for thirty years or more it might have seemed that political events had not affected the Mission adversely. The remarkable birth and progress of a native Anglican mission in the extreme north, in a field without rivals except for some Moslems, even seemed to indicate some advantages in being dissociated from the governing power. But the war and rebellion of the 1940's were a trial from which the Mission has still to prove its successful recovery.

Statistics, if read superficially, would give a misleading picture of the

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faithful restored in numbers, the clergy about as many as before, teachers and catechists not much fewer now, the contributions of the faithful and the stipends of workers more regular, and astronomically increased. The deception in the last phrase is of course too obvious to need comment—the franc has fallen to about a thirtieth of its value before the war. It may be another way of saying the same thing or it may be an additional depreciation (I am no economist) that much labour and service which was formerly offered without money has now to be hired in a regular way. In some of our congregations there are no skilled craftsmen left, either willing or unwilling, but only professional and office workers and labourers, and most of these are tied to regular employment.

### *East Coast Problems.*

Labour and technical skill are a national problem for which the Mission can do little to supply the remedy, but the condition of the faithful and those who minister to them is our own concern. The numbers themselves need analysing. The East Coast, where our work was begun and which was formerly reckoned our special district, suffered great losses in the rebellion of 1947 and has not recovered them. At least in some places I know of the congregation consists only of the aged, who have remained faithful through everything, and young children whose perseverance will probably be gravely strained by their immediate elders. Perseverance is not characteristic of the East Coast tribes, who mostly hear gladly what is new, but too often fall away to their heathen neighbours who are in a great majority all round them. In some places well-established congregations are holding their own and in one or two places an advance is being made into new villages. But maintenance has hopelessly outweighed evangelism in the thoughts of most of our people. And as always when that happens, maintenance is not achieved.

Some of our East Coast clergy are among the best in the island, but several are old, even very old by Malagasy reckoning, and can barely fulfil a minimum duty. There are one or two gaps in the ranks already, and we have not enough young priests to fill them or the fresh gaps which must appear before long. Formerly a few Imerina clergy would always be found working in East Coast parishes, to their own great benefit and to the wholesome invigoration, it was believed, of their weaker brethren. I cannot say how much of that hope and intention was realized, but it seems regrettable that there are no Imerina clergy or teachers now in all the East Coast archdeaconry, for it contributes to a sense of isolation which greatly depresses our workers there.

Each village congregation should have a catechist in charge under the direction of the parish priest. Most of these men formerly had spent a shorter or longer time at the pastoral College of S. Augustine's, Ambinanindrano, where they learned some doctrine and their pastoral duties. The cleverest of them continued their secular education so that many were able to teach bush schools and quite a few became authorized primary school teachers and priests. That college unfortunately was closed in 1941 and since then no new catechists have had any training but what the parish clergy could give them. Many of the old vintage remain and bear testimony to the value of a pastoral college. Some who had left

their work have returned of recent years and are working again. Some, having worked for years as catechists, are still coming forward for ordination. But fifteen years of college students have been lost, the former students are growing older and fewer, and their places are being taken by untrained men. This is retrogression indeed and must continue till the pastoral college is re-established, which we hope for this year.

The English missionaries who formerly worked on the East Coast, overseeing and organizing large districts, have all been withdrawn, leaving only Bishop Miles at Tamatave as Archdeacon of the East Coast and the four districts in the charge of four native rural deans. Probably only the offer of a suitable English missionary to re-open the pastoral college of S. Augustine's would occasion the sending of a new English missionary to the East Coast, though even that work could be undertaken now by one of our native priests of whom two in that archdeaconry have studied in England. The evangelistic work once done by missionaries from England still urgently needs doing in countless tiny villages on the coast and in the savannah and the edges of the forest in that beautiful tropical region. But from now on it must be done by the Malagasy Christians, when they have felt Christ's own thirst for the souls of their fellow-men, under the guidance and direction of their own clergy.

It is on the East Coast and in the towns there that the Anglican Mission is in most danger of discouragement if it compares itself with the Roman Mission now and as things were years ago. For the initiative which was ours formerly is certainly lost to the Romans now whose strength seems to lie largely in the religious communities and in the large scale of their finances which enables them to take full advantage of all offers of help from the government and UNESCO. But that sort of comparison is neither right nor profitable here any more than elsewhere. We have to remember ever and again that we are not the Church of the country. We are a small foreign mission left over from an earlier period of history when the land still had its native rulers. We are not in competition with the Roman Mission but remain primarily to care for those who are already Anglicans and then to help them to fulfil their necessary duty of evangelizing their still heathen neighbours. It is often a difficult and disheartening task for it means almost inevitably that the majority of our work is in backward country districts while in the towns and among the "people that matter" we cut a very poor figure. Yet there is no more glorious work than the conversion of the heathen, and faithfulness in that will certainly bear fruit in a faithfulness among our people which we may believe can be used by God to achieve great wonders.

### *The Church in the North.*

Passing directly from our oldest district to the youngest of our three archdeaconries, that of the North, we have a similar comparison of our state with that of others and of other times. For we were to all intents and purposes first in the field there too, but only after the occupation by the French did the Mission from England take over responsibility for the work which had been begun by the initiative of native converts alone. So there was never the same expectation of making it an exclusively



Anglican district. Because of their self-reliance and dislike of strangers the native leaders asked for only limited assistance in their work and the Mission never spent its resources in the North as it had done in the East. The native Christians did well and in some places very well, and to-day they produce a very few of our best workers and a corporate spirit of devotion and missionary ardour in some places which is without parallel in our diocese. Marodimaka, an unknown village in the extreme north, is a name which stirs the heart of anyone who has visited it. Even when it had only a single priest working in that parish and looking after the neighbouring parish and acting as dean of the district and teacher of the school, the village seemed to live by its mud church at one end of the village and its school at the other. And now that three priests work there and a pastoral college has been added (and, unintentionally through sickness, a third parish) there is still the same enthusiasm and the same annual visitation of heathen villages round about by all or nearly all of the faithful. In their own village they now hope to establish a girls' hostel for the school.

But here again our best work is in the remote country. The towns remain practically untouched by us, while the Romans build their cathedrals, schools, colleges, technical schools and hostels, and we seem to achieve nothing. If we are competing then we are indeed achieving nothing and less than nothing. But we believe that we are not competing but, first, following up the fruits of our first teaching and establishing our first converts in their vocation; secondly, we are taking a share in the evangelizing of a country which until lately was quite neglected by any other mission. But the work was and is most urgent, for Mohammedanism is spreading inland from the north-west coast, and as is well known, it is very hard to reclaim primitive peoples who have once embraced Islam. Moreover the Antankarana country is the centre of our work in the North borders, with the much bigger and still less evangelized tribe of the Tsimihety. Recently a new priest was ordained from that tribe, not young but immensely keen as a missionary, who could fill our pastoral college of Marodimaka single-handed with the aspiring catechists he wishes to have trained. If that college could be expanded—and we believe we have able teachers for it—we can go forward in evangelizing the North and in the care of the converted.

The independence of the northern people was mentioned above, but in the last three years a new and welcome attitude has appeared and a willingness, even eagerness, to receive workers among them from England or from Imerina, the district round the capital. It is no doubt due to the advance of the Romans and the general spread of education that the northern people now realize their need of instruction from the best teachers available, and their former prejudices against the outsider are weakening. We do not foresee such an abundance of English missionaries that one might be sent to the North where key positions are already held by native workers and where we have no prospect of establishing secondary education. But two Imerina clergy are working there now and a third worked very acceptably there for a year or more but had to be withdrawn for ill-health, an all too frequent ending to the braver ventures of our clergy.

*Around the Capital.*

Tananarive and Imerina present quite a different side of our work and very different problems. It is a primarily protestant country and we only came there under royal orders to make our headquarters in the capital. To the cathedral was added a high school, three other parish churches, a printing press which was later closed down, and a number of villages round turned Anglican. There are still plenty of heathen practisers of soothsaying and sorcery and even sacrifices at the high places, but most villages profess to be Christian.

It would be difficult to find one where to establish a new congregation would not mean rivalry with another mission already working there. So the work on the spot is rather maintenance and further instruction, and the people's missionary efforts are devoted to a missionary society called "the Annual" because of its great yearly festival. It is not so much a voluntary society as the Church of the Imerina Archdeaconry considered as a missionary agent. Everybody belongs. Forty years ago the work was begun in a forest district in the east, and both men and money were sent down from Imerina for the work. Money is still sent generously but now only the Rural Dean is an Imerina man, the other priest and all the workers are more or less local, and some workers have gone from that district to work elsewhere. It would seem therefore to be fully time for "the Annual" to be turning at least some of its attention to some fresh district where no mission is as yet working, such as the Tsimihety country, and that is already being debated though not yet resolved.

The work in Imerina itself cannot be said to progress as it ought, else there would be no shortage of workers such as has been noticed again and again. Our people are most numerous there, better off than elsewhere, have more clergy to look after them and better chances of education. Yet there are a few East Coast and even forest workers brought in to fill the ranks of clergy and teachers on the High Plateau. Our failure to find and mature vocations must be due partly to our general weaknesses such as shortage of English missionaries, shortage of books for reading and study, shortage of money, such as afflict our brethren in many missionary fields. But some more particular and immediate causes might be named and make clearer the condition of the Church in Imerina.

The love of money is the root of all evil, and it is clearly one great affliction of the Malagasy, particularly in and around the capital. It is far from universal, but it is made very acute in many cases by the enormous disproportion in the incomes of different types of people. A single man may be able to live on £3 a month, and when he can get his rice from the family rice-fields he can manage with much less. If he is married his wife will often do more than himself towards keeping herself and their children. A skilled labourer may easily earn £20 a month and a government clerk may get £60 to £80, for the French principle is equal pay for equal qualifications. Many of the Malagasy are proving themselves capable of the highest qualifications and the salaries they can obtain for them are quite dazzling to Malagasy eyes. It is not only those who attain to these qualifications who are drawn powerfully to turn them to their own advantage rather than offer themselves for the Church's work, but



the less successful also can choose between considerable wealth in secular employment (for a "failed *baccalauréat*" will carry you quite a long way, like the classical "failed matric" in India formerly) and real poverty in the Church's service.

It may only have been a few of our workers who have complained to their people of their poverty and even sought by unjustifiable means to exact a supplement from their people. But there certainly has been offence caused in some places which has shown itself after some time in a drying-up of vocations.

In spite of the many startling changes taking place in Madagascar and especially in and around the capital the man of the High Plateau is of a very conservative disposition. He prides himself on what he has learned and his advance over the more backward tribes both of his own island and on the African mainland. But too often his greatest enthusiasm is for the past—the early days of the Mission, the state of things he knew as a child. Sometimes this is connected with a more political nostalgia for the "Malagasy times" before the French occupation. (On the coast it takes on a slightly different complexion. It is not so much conservatism as a yearning back to childhood, for the things chiefly remembered seem to be the personal work of the old missionaries and the flourishing institutions which were maintained almost entirely from England and are contrasted with the burdensome responsibility of maintaining the work for themselves.) Possibly the Anglican Mission, whose teaching rests so largely on a historical basis of the Faith and Order received from the Church of old, the Fathers and the Apostles, has encouraged this conservatism of the Imerina. A striking instance of this retrospective tendency was seen lately when a young priest was asked to give a description of parish work in the district where he had been working. In a talk of about an hour he had not got beyond the story of the founding of the Mission there, a story everyone present knew by heart already.

The High Schools in Tananarive, one mixed and the other of girls only, were always intended to be a nursery for future workers and formerly were of high repute. They fell on very bad days. Academically they failed and they proved useless to the Church for their pupils were neither desirous nor qualified to work for her. They were re-organized three years ago into one mixed school of S. Lawrence and Miss Marjorie Hunt came from England to take charge. It is early days to speak yet of success in such a big undertaking but improvement in tone and discipline and examination results can already be positively recorded. Vocations are again being found among the pupils, one or two of whom are passing out this year to work for the Church. We are therefore hopeful, but it will always be a struggle for an Anglican school to keep abreast of the rising standards in education and particularly in that precise knowledge of the French language which is the indispensable requirement of the French system. The rare Anglican who really knows and speaks the French of a Frenchman might consider that as a strong indication that his or her calling lay in Madagascar.

There is an intermediate school on the same station as St. Paul's Theological College at Ambatoharanana where a few children obtain their first diploma for teaching and quite a number show a desire to work for

the Church. Hitherto it has not always been possible to accept many of them for work or for further training, but this may be easier in future, if money is available, through a change in the government's regulations for teachers and also if our hopes of a new priest from England are realized who will take a new course of studies in the college. This would be a preparation of young catechists who had neither diplomas nor experience to qualify them for the regular college course. . . . This would do for Imerina and perhaps for the East Coast too the work that Marodimaka is already doing for the North.

Until now it has been practically required of a man that he marry before being posted to pastoral work, and there was reason for the rule though it was sad to have to make it. Chastity and one's reputation are very hard to keep in a society where continence is presumed to be impossible, where whole families, and any visitors as well, all sleep in one room, and where non-Christian girls are not esteemed for their chastity but for their proved fertility. Several of our clergy have wanted to remain unmarried and some of the youngsters also seem to want to find a celibate vocation. Some believe that working in pairs it ought to be practicable, for lads at least, and their reputations might be spared. In one instance it seems to be working already. Could this be the opening for a religious community to come and begin work among us? for obviously such experimenters in a new vocation need preparation and guidance from experts.

Our need of religious communities is urgent and even our protestant neighbours remark sometimes that that is what we Anglicans lack. Many think only of the more obvious, even financial advantages which the Romans have through their very vigorous communities, and they are so impressive as to make one feel sometimes that that is the only really effective way of doing missionary work. Such an exaggeration probably betrays a mundane estimate of the religious life, and it is another consideration which most concerns those who watch the work and the workers here; vocations are being distorted and lost and the grace of God thwarted where He is trying to achieve His greatest works. If the Church of England cannot send a more complete mission, equipped to foster all normal vocations, ought she to undertake to work at all in such a field as Madagascar? The answer must lie somewhere between impatience and complacency, where both faith and endeavour can formulate it thus: the work already begun and God's blessing on it are such that it cannot be thrown away but must be completed, for the conversion of the heathen who are still in a great majority in Madagascar, and for the witness we can bear to the Catholic Faith according to the Anglican tradition and our hope of the reconciliation of all Christians.



## BOOK NOTES

**I**N Canon J. McLeod Campbell's latest book, **African History in the Making** (E.H.P., 7s. 6d.)—the emphasis is on the way in which history is being made here and now in Africa, particularly in regard to developments in education. The author outlines and interprets the work of the Cambridge Conference on education in British Tropical Africa, in a way which will be found of interest to people concerned with education in this country as well as those with similar responsibilities overseas. The influence of the new "African consciousness", and of such factors as nationalist pressures and parental attitudes, is examined. So, too, are the acute problems pertaining to the supply of trained teachers and of competent staff for the teacher-training colleges. The Conference also had to concern itself with the effect of the widespread drift from the land and, within the schools, the repercussions of an excess of examinations at every stage of education. It is interesting to find the Conference laying great stress on the importance of adult education and suggesting it to be a field in which the Churches might well make a much more extensive contribution than has hitherto been the case. There was unanimous agreement that education had a great responsibility in regard to meeting a moral need, inspiring moral leadership and developing character. It was agreed that a spiritual basis was essential to true education.

The many other subjects considered at the Conference included, for example, the value and development of teachers' associations and the working out of the triple partnership between the central authority, the local authority and the voluntary agency. Canon Campbell's survey makes clear the need for reinforcements from this country with the experience and the understanding fitting them to assist in the expansion of education in the Africa of to-day. The book concludes with two interesting and informative supplements. In one, Mr. W. E. F. Ward gives a survey of fifty years of African Education and in the other, Mr. J. W. A. Thorburn reports on recent developments in education in West Nigeria.

While we are on the subject of education we note an interesting international review published by UNESCO and obtainable from the Stationery Office at 2s. Its subject is **The Place of Sport in Education** and it includes some interesting reports from Commonwealth Countries revealing widely divergent views on the methods and value of physical education and sport in the school curriculum.

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The theme of the Church under the Cross has been used fairly widely in recent missionary publications and has been a valuable method of approach to the contemporary situation. The Reverend Douglas Webster, Home Education Secretary of the C.M.S. has written **In Debt to Christ** (Published by the Highway Press at 4s. 6d.) and in it provides a helpful re-examination of what it means to be "under the Cross".

Mr. Webster affirms the human right of all mankind to hear of the Saviour and know what He has done for man. It is the mission of the Church to preach Christ Crucified, Lord over the whole world and over the whole of life. This proclamation involves a mission of self-sacrifice and its "being under the Cross" may take many different forms in the life of the Church not only that of enduring obvious persecution. The author shews clearly how the proclamation of the Cross as the means of reconciliation may be hindered by divisions between the Christian brethren, between racial and social groups, and between the Churches.

. . . . .

**Service Overseas in the Ministry of the Church** (Church Information Board, 1s. 6d.) is the report of a Joint Committee of Enquiry on the Recruitment and Training of Ordinands and Clergy for Service Overseas. It should be studied by all who are concerned that the Church should make the best use of its manpower throughout the Anglican Communion. The report begins with an analysis of the needs of the Church overseas and of the present deterrents to service abroad. Existing methods of recruitment and training are discussed. Then follows a section dealing with the controversial subject of missionary colleges. The Committee has made a number of recommendations about ways in which theological training in Britain could be more effectively related to the world-wide context of the Ministry, and it urges the provision of a course of specialized training for those going overseas, to be taken in the months immediately prior to sailing.

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South Africa has been brought into the news again by the "Treason Trials" and the boycott of Native transport. Some months ago there appeared a book by a leading theologian of the Dutch Reformed Church which has received far too little attention in this country, analysing as it does the complex situation in the Union especially in its religious and social aspects. The author is Professor Keet, and his book, **Whither South Africa** is obtainable through the Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1., at 6s. 6d, including postage. Reviewing this work, a former Director of Native Missions in Natal, the Rev. H. W. Badham writes:

"In the course of time the Dutch Reformed Church itself has become a champion of apartheid, seeking to find in Scripture itself doctrinal grounds for supporting a policy which has become part and parcel of white thinking in South Africa. Dr. Keet spends a great deal of time proving how un-scriptural such a doctrine really is and refuting the arguments of many of his co-religionists who would read into Scripture what they would like to find there. Strange as much of this is to Anglicans, it perhaps underlines what Fr. Huddleston and others have said—that the problem is one of theology as much as anything.

"Professor Keet disposes of the argument that within the Church there can be an inward and spiritual unity in spite of outward separation.

He recalls that there was in fact no separation between white and non-white in the Dutch Reformed Church prior to 1857 and that such separation came into being 'because of the weakness of some'.

"Turning to political apartheid the author has some pungent things to say. Any who have read such books as *You are Wrong, Father Huddleston* should read what Professor Keet has to say about the airy nonsense of official propaganda. He is certain that apartheid is not only wrong but wholly impracticable. He sees the necessity for some degree of differentiation at present but only as a purely temporary measure, and insists that personal liberty must in all circumstances be respected and not suppressed.

"The whole book should be read by all who have the interests of race-relations at heart."

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## THE JEWS TO-DAY

ONLY one-sixth (one and a half million) of the 12 million Jews in the world are now living in Israel. All the rest are scattered throughout nearly all the continents. During the last few centuries millions of them have been forced to leave the countries in which they had made their homes, especially in Europe, and to emigrate to the new world. In 1851, 88 per cent. of all Jews lived in Europe; to-day only 29 per cent. are there. Even before the first world war, nearly two and a half million of them had emigrated to America; they were followed in 1951 by another 1.7 millions; 5.8 to 6 millions were unable to flee from the terror of the Hitler period; they were killed or died of exhaustion and illness.

"A complete readjustment has taken place in the balance of the Jewish population," according to the German Evangelical Press Service, source of these statistics. More than half the Jews in the world to-day live in North or South America. Over 5 million live in the U.S.A. (over 2 million in New York), 220,000 in Canada, 400,000 in Argentina and 100,000 in Brazil. In Europe there are to-day only about three and a half million Jews left, and over two-thirds of them are in countries behind the Iron Curtain. Although exact statistics are not available, it is believed that there are about 2 million in the Soviet Union, 35,000 in Poland (formerly 3 million), 100,000 in Hungary, 18,000 in Czechoslovakia and 4,000 in Bulgaria. Only 950,000 Jews are left in Western Europe, 450,000 of whom live in Great Britain and 250,000 in France. In Germany only 25,000 survived the terror of anti-semitism, in Austria 14,000 and in Holland 25,000.

The greatest menace at the present time is to the Jewish population in the Arab states of Northern Africa. In Morocco there are over 250,000 Jews, 100,000 in Tunis, 100,000 in Algeria, and 75,000 in Egypt. There are 100,000 living in the Union of South Africa. The only countries in the Far East which have a considerable number of Jewish citizens are Australia and New Zealand, each of which has about 58,000. In the whole of Asia (excluding Israel) there are less than 200,000.

E. P. S., Geneva.





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